

November 21, 1992--DRAFT

Dear President-Elect Clinton:

Congratulations on your victory! We and the organizations we represent are especially encouraged by the commitments expressed by you and Vice-President-elect Gore to achieve, at last, a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

We applaud the high priority you have assigned, in your earliest news conferences, to dealing with the problem of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and your awareness that a cutoff of nuclear testing by the nuclear states is prerequisite to that task.

It is urgent that agreement be reached on a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty before the convening of the renewal conference on the Nuclear NonProliferation Treaty in 1995, so that U.S. can exert enhanced authority and influence toward strengthening the nonproliferation regime at that time.

Therefore we urge you, as one of your earliest acts as President, to convene a meeting of the five declared nuclear powers to commence immediate negotiations toward a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. These negotiations would aim, in coordination with efforts by the Partial Test Ban Amendment Conference and the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, to produce a completed treaty--or amendment to the Partial Test Ban Treaty--by 1995.

Recent Congressional legislation sets a deadline for a permanent halt to testing (September 30, 1996: later than desirable) and--joining the current moratoria on Russian and French testing--establishes a moratorium on U.S. nuclear testing until July 1, 1993. We know that you support both these features of the legislation--in contrast to President Bush, who opposed both, signed the legislation only reluctantly and announced his intent to seek to annul it next year--and an early public statement of your support would be desirable.

Both the legislated deadline and, especially, the mutual moratoria by the major nuclear powers create a favorable environment for the commencement and progress of negotiations toward a Comprehensive Test Ban. Once you have convened high-level discussions toward a CTB, we urge that you announce your readiness to maintain the U.S. moratorium while negotiations proceed, assuming that Russia continues to do so.

Recognizing that some are convinced of the desirability of a small number of further tests to improve the safety features of existing U.S. nuclear weapons, we wish to emphasize the much higher priority--as we see it--of achieving global commitments to a permanent end of testing.

NOV 25

TO: ~~BOB MUSIK~~ DAVID CULP
~~DARYL KIMBALL~~
~~PETER TYLER~~

FROM: DAN ELLSBERG

2d version, reflecting Daryl's
(and Mort Halperin's) suggestions.